

Sober and Seasonable Discourse,  
By way of  
**DIALOGUE**  
BETWEEN A  
**States-man,**  
AND A  
**Country-Gentleman.**

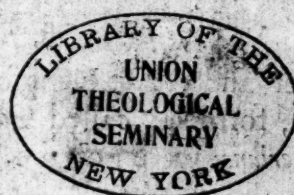
Making it manifest,  
That the Sober and truly Religious People of  
this Nation, formerly called *Puritans*, and of  
late *Presbyterians*, were not the Designers and  
Promoters of the last War. And proving by unan-  
swerable Reasons, that there is no such danger of a  
Second War, as is generally feared.

*Written by a true Lover of his King and Country, for the  
quieting the Spirits of all sorts of People.*

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DICTIONARY



A Sober and Seasonable Discourse,  
by way of DIALOGUE, between a  
States-man and a Country-Gentle-  
man.

Country-Gentleman.

SIR, I have long desired to have your opinion of the present Times; for you being of ripe years at the beginning of the last <sup>and</sup> years, and a diligent observer of all the Intrigues and Practices of those Times, are better able to judge thereof, than we that have seen little further than the present, which are generally believed to look like those of 1641.

States-man. It is very true, that the present Times do in some measure resemble those of 1641. but in the most essential circumstances they do vastly differ: You must know that the late King had had some Parliaments at the beginning of his Reign, that had made him out of love with Parliaments; a thing of dangerous consequence, for this made Lewis the 13th. the French King, and other Princes lay Parliaments aside: And in truth, this Kingdom can no longer be happy, than there is a sweet compliance between the King and his People in Parliament, and a just *medium* held between the King's Prerogative, and the Peoples Liberties; for if either of these swell beyond their bounds, the Harmony is spoiled. And the putting our late King out of love with Parliaments, put him to many extravagant ways of raising Money, by Loans, Benevolences, Fines for not taking the Order of Knighthood, by Monopolies, by Ship-money, and other devices, which was a great Grievance to the Subjects of England, that never willingly part with their Money, but by Authority of Parliament: These were the Grievances in the

Civil Government. Then you must likewise know, that the High-Commission-Court, Council-Table, Star-Chamber, and some of the Bishops had been busie with the Non-Conformists, and dissenters from the Church of England, and these were look'd upon as Grievances in the affairs of the Church: And of all these, a sort of men we called after *Commonwealths-men*, or *Republicans*, made their advantage, railed in all Companies against the present Government, High-Commission, Star-Chamber, Bishops, and scattered about Libels and scandalous Papers, to make a bad understanding between the King and his People, and to make the People out of love with the Government of the Church and State; by which means the *Puritans*, and other Dissenters from the Church of England, and great numbers of Mechanicks that had been oppressed with Monopolies, and other discontented people, were drawn to their party, so that in the whole they made up a considerable party, and were of great use to the *Commonwealths-men*.

C. G. *I pray Sir, what was the design of those men you call Commonwealths-men?*

St. They were a sort of men that had a design to subvert the Government of these Realms by Kings, and make them up into a Free-State.

C. G. *What do you mean by a Free-State, that every one should do what he pleased, and be governed by no Laws or Governours, and be free from all Taxes and Payments?*

St. That were a Free-State indeed: but those Governments which we call Free-States, or Commonwealths, have none of these priviledges, I'll assure you; for there is no Government in the World more severe than those of Free-States, nor that levies vaster sums of Money upon the Subject. And truly I can give you no other reason why they are called Free-States, but because they are free from Royal Government, and made Slaves to their Fellow-Subjects.

C. G.



C. G. I perceive you give little commendations to Free-States, whereas many wise and great States-men have preferred that manner of Government before Monarchy.

J. I will not take upon me to determine whether is the better form of Government, there has many learned Pens writ on this Subject, but all still framing such Arguments, as from thence they might draw such Conclusions as should best please those in whose favour they writ. But the most indifferent Authors have concluded for a well-regulated Monarchy, such as ours is, whilst Prerogative and Liberty keep their true measures; for *Commonwealths* are generally Factionous, and by that means either ruine themselves, or degenerate into Monarchy. The first *Commonwealths* we meet with in History, are those of Greece, which were either in War with their Neighbours, or ravelled into Factions and Tumults amongst themselves, till at length the *Macedonians* reduced all Greece to a Monarchy, and then they soon made themselves Lords of a great part of *Asia*: *Carthage* was ruined by her own Factions. 'Tis true, *Rome* stood some few hundreds of years, but continually in Arms abroad, or Tumults at home, and at length degenerated into a Monarchy, which in some measure continues till this day. *Venice* only can brag of her long continuance under that form of Government; but I cannot properly call that a *Commonwealth*, but rather a well-regulated *Monarchy*, that has not been imposed, but has been bred up with the City, and so become natural; yet some States-men have thought, that had not the *Grand Seignior* been so near their Neighbour, and held them together, that *Commonwealth* had s're this become Monarchical: and it is very certain, no King in *Europe* lays greater burdens and Taxes upon the Subject, than that State doth. For the *Low-Countries*, it hath been of so short a growth, and still united by Troubles, that no true measure can be taken from it.

C. G. I pray you Sir, what reason had those men you call  
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Commonwealths-men, to endeavour the change of the Government into a Free-State, as you call it, which must be obtained by a hazardous War, and maintained by an Army, as long as there should be any of the Royal Line left.

St. I can alledge no other reason for it, but the Imprudent breeding of our young Noblemen and Gentry, who are sent to Travel, when they are fitter for Grammar-Schools; and are apter to suck in corruption, than make any advantage of their Travels; who having spent some time at *Amsterdam* and *Venice*, and seeing the flourishing condition of those Estates, presently judge by the outside that all this proceeds from the Government: whereas in truth, Necessity has made them Industrious, and Industry and Parsimony has made them Rich; for they suffer no idle person to live amongst them, but put them to one employment or another; though they have but one hand, one foot, or never an eye, yet they'll find some employment for them. And as they are industrious to get, so they are prudent in saving, in their Clothes, Diet, Furnitures, and other expences: where we like Prodigals give our selves over to all manner of Luxury, changing our Cloth into Silk, our Beer and Ale into Wine; our Merchants and Tradesmen maintain themselves and their Wives like Noblemen, the Justices of the Peace neglect their duties in putting out Apprentices, and providing Work-houses, so that there's whole Armies of Beggars and Thieves maintained at the Publick charge; besides infinite of idle persons that live upon the expence of the Nation, without any employments, but frequenting Coffee-houses, and censuring the Government. And indeed the multitude of Free-Schools, conduces very much to the divisions in this Nation; for every body that can but maintain their Children with Meat and Clothes, send them to the School, which life they continue till they are 16 or 17 years of age, and then they are fit for nothing but some idle Trade, or the University; where after they have spent a little time,

time, they become Preachers, and we having by that means many more Preachers, than we have Preferments in the Church for, they start some new Doctrines, and gather private Congregations, to countenance which they preach down the settled Doctrines and Discipline of the Church. And then most people by means of these Free-Schools, being become able to read an *English* Bible, these new Doctors strain and rithe the Scriptures to maintain their own Doctrines. Besides these things, I must tell you our Pride and Luxury is another ingredient to our Poverty: I remember since the Citizens Wives of *London* all went in Hats and green Aprons, and their Husbands in Violet cloth Cloaks, and Velvet Caps, to distinguish them from the Nobility and Gentry; but now they and their Wives outvie the Nobility and Gentry, and every ordinary Servant Maid will have her Silk Gown and Holland Sleeves. And though Wine be now the double price it was in my time, yet I believe there is five times as much drank now, as was then, if not more; and this must needs bring us to wants, and want will introduce discontents, those Factions, and at last Rebellion. Now if we had some sumptuary Laws to restrain the excess of Wine, Apparel, and other expences, and imployments found out for our People, this Nation might vie with any Commonwealth in the World.

C. G. *But if there should be such sumptuary Laws as you speak of, the King's Custom would be infinitely diminished, which must necessarily become a great burden to the people.*

Sr. That's it that helps to ruine us; for the King must either draw money from the People insensibly, or else they grumble and murmur against the Government: whereas Free-States make no difficulty of levying money upon the People. And I dare presume to say, that we had better to pay double the Customs by Land-Taxes, than those Customs: for the Customs, though the Merchant pays them, he loses nothing by them, but gains by them, and many times

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times cozens the King of them, and puts them in his own purse. Now the the Country man pays them double in every thing he buys or sells; that is, he pays so much the more for the Merchandize he buys, and sells the Merchandize that is to be transported, so much the cheaper; and yet King and Parliament, for fear of disgusting the people, are forc'd to let the people gull themselves thus, and impoverish the whole Nation.

*C. G. But had those you call Commonwealths-men no other reason for this attempt, but the good of their Country? for if so, they are not so blame-worthy as I thought them.*

*Sr.* Yes verily, they had a further reach, for if they could have brought their design to pass, they made an account to have had a large share in the Government, and have been the *Hogen Mogens* of the Commonwealth. And in that little time they were in power, they did not neglect their own concerns and profit, I'll assure you.

*C. G. Now you have satisfied me; but how did they bring their design about.*

*Sr.* Sir, as I told you at first, they drew to their party all the Non-conformists, and Dissenters from the Church of *England*, that had received infection from the corrupt Clergy of *Scotland*, and by them they found it no hard matter to stir up their Brethren there, and by them the People into open Rebellion: and to advance the Cause, they prevailed with them to invade *England* with an Army, and so forc'd the King to call a *Parliament* to hire them home again. And then these *Commonwealths-men* bestir'd them to get into the Parliament-House, and had so insinuated themselves into the good opinion of the Non-conformists, and Dissenters from the Church of *England*, and many poor Tradesmen that had suffered by the Monopolies, as the great assertors of Religion, and the Rights and Property of the Subject, that they found it no great difficulty to get themselves elected in many Corporations, which in most places abounded with that sort of People.

*C. G.*

*C. G. Ton have given me a good account how these men you call Commonwealth-men crept into the Parliament: I pray you how did they proceed there to bring about their designs?*

*St.* Why they at first, as the greatest Patriots in the World, promoted divers plausible Popular Laws, as the damning Ship-money, Monopolies, compelling men to take the Order of Knighthood, the Star-Chamber, and High-Commission Courts, regulating the Council-board, Perambulations of the Forreits, and Clerks of the Market, and gave hopes of taking away the Court of Wards and Purveyance, (which his Sacred Majesty has most graciously relinquished, for the satisfaction of his people :) And having made themselves Popular by obtaining these Laws, and giving the Non-conformists hopes they would extirpate Episcopacy root and branch, as they termed it, the next work was to remove two men out of the way; that was, the *Earl of Strafford*, a person for courage, counsel, and the conduct of the greatest affairs, had not his equal in the three Nations; the other was *Laurel* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a person of great design: the last they were content to sequester from the King, by an imprisonment in the *Tower*, till at length they purchased their *Scotch Aid* by his blood: the first having been employed for some years in the Government of *Ireland*, which he found ready to break out into a Rebellion, and having been forc'd to strain both the Law and Prerogative to reduce them to Duty, there was no great difficulty to find matter to make him a Criminal, which they strained up to an unprecedented High-Treason, and made the People believe that no Balsom could heal their greivances, but the blood of this Noble Lord. Much time was spent in this prosecution, and all their wits strained to make him a Traytor for his Loyalty; and at last when they could not get it by way of Impeachment, they did by Bill of Attainder, which in a very thin House of Lords they got

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pass'd;

pass'd; and after, upon a point of State-necessity, they exacted it unwillingly from the King. And upon pretence of great Jealousies and Fears, and other colourable reasons, at the same time they presented that Bill, they got another Bill pass'd for the perpetuating that Parliament: so that with the same Pen and Ink that that good King cut off *Strafford's* head, they brought his own to the block; and as I heard a great Prelate affirm, that that good King was carried to the block by the same illegal Power, in the same year of his Age, and out of the same Room where he signed the Commission for passing *Strafford's* Bill; however, I am sure the business of *Strafford* was the heaviest thing that lay on that good King's conscience to his dying day.

C. G. *How did they proceed after they had got these points?*

Sr. After they had laid these two men aside, they began by degrees to unmask; and first, by Tumults of their own creatures, they drove the King away from *London*, and soon after by like Tumults they drove away all the Lords and Commons out of both Houses, that would not be over-awed to comply with their designs; then they pretended that the King was drawn away from his Parliament by Evil-counsel, Malignants, and Papists, and several Propositions and Overtures were made for his return; but they always made sure the same should be such as he could not accept, either with honour or safety. At length they projected to raise an Army, to rescue the King out of the hands of Malignants and Papists, that kept him from his Parliament, and to bring Delinquents to Justice: the pretence was plausible; the person pitcht upon to be their General, to carry a Petition to the King to return to his Parliament, was *Robert Earl of Essex*, the most popular Nobleman in the three Nations; but for what cause, it is hard to tell you, he had had some hard measures at Court about his Wives, and he therefore was thought the fittest person

person for this Service; and being a man of no deep reach, was easily frightened into a compliance, which very much advanced the Cause.

C. G. *How did these Commonwealths-men do for Money, Arms, and Ammunition?*

St. You should rather ask me how the King did for Men, Money and Arms: for the *Commonwealths-men* seized of all the King's Forts, Magazines, and Navy, which Armed them sufficiently; and for Money, you must know that the Citizens of *London* were by a long peace made Purse-proud, and the *Commonwealths-men* having the countenance and reputation with the Vulgar of a Parliament, pawn'd the Publick Faith to repay what Money should be lent, with Interest. You would wonder what Mountains of Money and Plate this brought in! If my memory fails me not, they gave an accompt of two Millions raised in *London*, besides what was pickt up in other places, upon this Security: but this was not all, for they sequestred all the King's Revenues, the Lands and Rents of the Bishops, and Deans and Chapters, and all the Royal Party; and at length sold the Lands of the King, Queen, Prince, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and of 700 Lords and Gentlemen.

C. G. *Did they raise Money enough by this means to maintain the War without charging the People?*

St. No; alas they excised all we eat, drank, or wore, and they levyed (when they levyed least upon the people) ninety thousand pounds *per menssem*, but for the most part one hundred and twenty thousand pounds *per menssem*.

C. G. *How did the People take that, that made it such a grievance to pay the King so much in a year, to maintain them in safety and peace, as they paid these Rebels in a month to make War?*

St. Do you not remember the Fable of the Wood and Country-man, who begg'd a Helve for his Hatchet of



the Wood ; with which when the Wood had prodigally given him, he cut down the whole Wood : so it fared with the simple people of that Age, that voluntarily contributed to set up an Army, and then that Army forc'd them to pay it with a mischief, what they pleased.

C. G. *It seems these people found out ways to raise vast sums of Money, sure they could not spend all the Money in so short a War.*

Alas, I could not reckon up all the Money they rais'd by colour of this War, in a Summers day ; for they had the plunder of all the King's Houses, Jewels, Wardrobe, even of his Crown it self, and of the greater part of the Nobility and Gentry ; the Cavaliers Compositions, which amounted to near a Million of money ; the Fifts, and Twentieths of their Estates, and of divers others besides ; and sold about seven hundred Noblemens and Gentlemens Estates, that they would not admit to Composition, whereof many of them were vast Estates ; and besides all this, if you peruse their Ordinances, you will find much more ways by which they got Money. But I am of your opinion, that all this Money was not spent in the War ; for they shared great sums amongst themselves, and gave one another great Rewards for small Services.

C. G. *You have given me a very good account how these men got Money and Arms to set up a War, but how got they Souldiers and Commanders against their lawful King, to whom they had sworn Allegiance ?*

St. Truly I never saw Oaths do much good, for Knaves prefer their Interest before all the Oaths in the World, and honest men need no Oaths to bind them to their Duties. For Souldiers and Commanders, you need not doubt they had sufficient ; for having Money, they drew to their party all the men of broken Fortunes, and Souldiers of Fortune ; and, as I told you before, they had drawn to their party the Puritans, and Dissenters from the Church of *England*, and all those that had been grieved  
by



by the Star-Chamber, High-Commission, Council-Table, or Monopolies; and Tenants against their Landlords, and gave them hopes they should be Free-holders.

C. G. *But I wonder how those Religious sober people, that went by the name of Puritans, were drawn into a Rebellion against their lawful Prince, and their Oaths of Allegiance; they had no warrant from the Scripture for it, and they tie themselves strictly to the Text.*

St. You have made me a question is hard to answer, for in truth it was not only a great scandal to their profession, but to the Protestant Religion, wherein though I cannot altogether excuse them, yet I believe the greatest fault was in their Clergy, who had taken a deep tincture of the Corruption of the *Scotch* Clergy, and they pinning their Faiths too much upon their Doctrines, were drawn into the Cause: for these men Preach'd up the War, that if you had heard them, as I have done, 'twould have made your ears to tingle, and flesh to have trembled; the *Jesuites* could not have gone beyond them: and all the bloody passages of the Old Testament, they applied to the present Times; as that of *Ehud*, who slew *Eglon* King of *Moab*, *Judg.* 3. 21. of the Town of *Libnah*, that revolted from the obedience of *Jehoram*, because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers, *2 Chron.* 21. 10. of *Jehu* that cut off the house of *Ahab*, *2 Kings* 9. of *Jehoiadab* the High-Priest, that commanded *Athaliah* the Queen to be put to death, *2 Kings* 11. 15. of the Priests at *Jerusalem*, that resisted *Uzziah*, that would have exercised the Priests Office, *2 Chron.* 26. 18. the example of *Elisha*, who caused the door to be shut when *Joram* the King sent a Messenger to cut off his head, *2 Kings* 6. 13. the curse of *Deborah* against the Inhabitants of *Meroz*, because they came not out to help the Lord when *Barak* fought against *Sisera*, *Judg.* 5. 23. the curse of *Jeremy*, against them that kept their Swords from shedding the blood of the *Moabites*, *Jer.* 48. 10. and twenty more of these precedents, which

which are neither commended nor commended to Christians; and what applications they made from these Texts to the present occasion, you may easily guess. But you must know, that the Archbishop *Land* had a little before the War, for decency sake, caused the Communion Tables to be turned Alrar-wise, and caused Rails to be set about them, and Bowing to them: But as my Lord *Bacon* observes, all Innovations in Church or State are dangerous, unless the cause be urgent, or the utility apparent; for from hence they inferred, that there was a design to introduce Popery, which frightened the Non-conformists and Puritans, that they should have the Inquisition instead of the High-Commission, which the *Common-wealthy-men* and their Clergy made good use of, for the advance of the Cause.

*C. G.* But what pretence could they have for taking up Arms against the King?

*St.* You must know, that the taking up Arms against the King, was a tender point, and therefore they were put to twenty shifts to avoid that reproach and scandal; and indeed, the *English* naturally have had a great reverence for their Kings, as Sacred persons: therefore they durst not at first own it as a War against the King, but for the safety and preservation of the King's person, and to rescue him out of the hands of Papists and Evil Counsellors, and to bring him back to his Parliament, where they gave forth he desired to be, and to bring Delinquents to condign punishment: but for the King himself, they promised to make him a Glorious King. These pretences were so plausible, that it drew many honest, sober, religious men to their Party, who had no evil design against the King's person, as appeared by the sequel. And indeed in the Earl of *Essex's* Commission, the King's person was excepted; but after they had engaged men past retreat, they by degrees unmask'd, and made a distinction

See the Votes  
of Parliament  
*infra.*

See the Votes  
of 22 July.  
1642.

tion between the King in his Politick capacity, and *Charles Stuart* in his Natural capacity, and so made a War for the King and Parliament, against *Charles Stuart*; and by that means made him a Glorious King, as they promised him. Next, they made it a War to preserve the Protestant Religion from Popery; and herein they dealt with the *Puritans*, and other Dissenters, just as the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé*, did by the *Hugonots* in *France*, who upon pretence of defending the Protestant Religion, served their turns on them for their own aspiring and ambitious designs. Next, they pretended it was for the preserving the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, which the people then idolized as the great preserver of their Lives, Liberties and Properties, and to prevent an Arbitrary Government by an Army, as they likewise made the people believe was designed.

A distinction  
of the Jesuits.

C. G. *These indeed were glorious pretences, and especially by a Parliament that had gained so great Reputation with the People; but how did they prosecute these ends?*

St. As to the King, I need not tell you that they persecuted him by a cruel and bloody War, and at last barbarously murder'd the best of Kings at his own door, in the light of the Sun, by colour of a Judgment in a Mock-Court of Justice. The Protestant Religion they defended much after the same manner, by pulling down and defacing Churches, and making Stables and Jakes of them; sequestering and imprisoning all the Orthodox and Loyal Divines, tearing the Books of Common-Prayer, and giving encouragement to all manner of Sects and Religions, but the Religion that was establish'd by Law. They maintained the Privilege of Parliament much after the same manner; first, by excluding the Bishops, driving away the King, and many of the Lords and Commons, by Tumults; next, excluding divers of the Members of the House of Commons, which they found

not

not for their turns, and at last Voting down the House of Lords as unnecessary. And they preserved the Lives, Liberties and Properties of the people, by putting many to death for their Loyalties, without any legal Process, imprisoning others, plundering and sequestering those that appeared against them, by Free-Quarter, and levying vast sums of Money without any legal Authority on all, to maintain a Rebellion.

*C. G. When these men had got into their power and possession the Tower, and City of London, the Navy, and all the King's Forts and Magazines, and had found out so many ways to raise Money, and made so great a Party, having the colour of a Parliamentary Authority on their side, it is a great wonder how the King was able to make any resistance.*

*St.* Notwithstanding all these advantages, the King though he was deprived of Arms, Forts, Navy, the City of London, his own Revenues, and means to raise money, yet he found such a party of Loyal brave Subjects, as will ever appear for the Crown, that in a short time he had worsted them, had not they a second time with some difficulty called an Army of Scots to their assistance, by which means they reduced him to that extremity, that he threw himself into the protection of the Scotch Army, who traitorously sold him to his Enemies.

*C. G. By what means did they procure the Scots to their Party again?*

*St.* By the common ways, that is, Money and fair words; they paid them very well for their Journey, and besides gave them hopes they would pull down Episcopacy, and set up Presbytery, which was a sure means to stir up their Preachers, and they the people, that were apt to be fooled by them: but the Scotch Presbyters would not take their words, without they would enter into a Covenant, that is, a solemn Oath to extirpate Episcopacy; but for setting up Presbytery, they took their words in private,

private, for they knew that Presbytery would never be endured with the dissenting Independant Brethren, that well agreed to the pulling down the one, but hated the other as bad as Popery it self; and desired only Liberty of Conscience, and not to impose, or to be imposed on: And in truth, when they were in power, things were much more moderately carried, then under the *Commonwealths-men* and *Presbyterians*.

C. G. *It seems these people had lost all, had not they played the after-game well, and what would then have come of them?*

St. Yes, 'tis very clear that notwithstanding all their advantages, they lost the fore-game; for the King was Master of the Field every where. And 'tis generally believ'd, that if the King had then drawn all his Forces towards *London*, the *Commonwealths-men* had all run away, and they had provided for their Journey; and had the King made an absolute Conquest of them, as 'twas like enough he had done, the King could hardly have prevented the ruine of all the men of Estates of that party: for they had used the Royal party so barbarously, that all their Estates would have made but a moderate reparation; and their Estates being all forfeited by the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, they had no reason to hope for much favour.

C. G. *Sir, I always understood that the late War had been designed, promoted, and carried on by the Presbyterians, and you make it the work of a sort of men you call Commonwealths-men: I pray you what Religion were they?*

St. You ask me a hard question; for I, for my own part, doubt whether the most of the designers were any Religion or no; but I believe, if of any Religion, they were of the rigider sort of Anarchical, Jesuitical Presbyterians, that is, *Scotized Presbyterians*. But you must know, that at the beginning of the War we had not the names and distinctions of *Presbyterians* and *Independants*,



but the dissenters in Religion went by the names of *Puritans, Brownists, Barrowists, Separatists, Anabaptists, &c.* after by the general name of *Roundheads*. But the first distinction between *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, that I remember, was about the time the Scots sold their King, in the year 1647.

*C. G. Sir, now we are come to speak of Presbyterians and Independants, give me leave to ask (though beside our intended discourse) what is meant by Presbyterians and Independants?*

*St.* Those that are for the Presbyterian Government in the Church, are truly and properly called *Presbyterians*; and those that are against all Government in the Church, and for Liberty of Conscience, are *Independants*.

*C. G. What manner of Government is that, that those people you call Presbyterians would have in the Church?*

*St.* I shall endeavour, as well as I can, to satisfy your curiosity therein. There is in this Government four several sorts of Assemblies or Courts, one above another, *Parochial* or *Congregational*, *Classical*, *Provincial*, and *National*; the *Parochial* or *Congregational* Assembly, consists only of the *Presbyter* or *Minister* of the *Parish*, with two *Lay-Elders* chosen out of the *Parishioners* annually, and presented to, and approved by the *Classical* Assembly, which consists of the *Ministers* and *Lay-Elders* of a certain number of *Parishes*; that is the standing Court for that Circuit. And there is a certain number of *Presbyters* and *Lay-Elders* chosen out of ten or twenty *Classes*, to make up the *Provincial* Assembly, which is to sit at certain times, to receive and determine Appeals from the *Classical* Assembly. The *National* Assembly is made up out of all the *Provinces*, like our *Synods*; to them lies the last Appeal, and they have power to settle matters of Doctrine that are controverted, and to make *Canons* and *Rules* for the Reformation of disorders in the Church. The *Parochial* Assembly is in the nature of an *Archdeacons*

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Visitation; the Classica], of a High-Commission; the Provincial, of a Commission of Delegates. These Courts have power to convene and call before them any person of what quality soever, Emperor, King, Prince, Nobleman, Gentleman, or Commoner, and examine the party and Witnesses upon Oath; and upon conviction or contumacy, to condemn the party to the Tumbril, Stool of Repentance, or any other shameful Penance or Punishment; and upon refusal to obey such sentence, to Excommunicate, Anathematize, forbid them the Ordinances, or exercise any other Ecclesiastical Censures upon them.

*C. G. Of what things has the Congregational Assembly cognizance?*

*St.* The Congregational Assemblies have only power to admonish, and in case of obstinacy, to transmit the matter to the Classica] Assembly: but this is only in the smaller sort of Crimes.

*C. G. Of what things has the Classica] Assembly Jurisdiction?*

*St.* Besides these Civil causes of Tithes, Probate of Wills, granting Administrations, Legacies, Contracts of Marriage, Legitimations, Divorces, approving, admitting, instituting and inducting of Ministers, and other things of ordinary cognizance, they convene and call before them, and punish Sabbath-breakers, (to call it by their own name, I mean the Lords-day) by Travelling, going to the Ale-houses or Taverns, Gaming, idle Jangling, absenting from the Church and Ordinances, Incontinency in having Bastards, being taken in bed with a Woman, frequenting scandalous Houses and Company, being in company of a Woman with the door shut to you, or any private place; soliciting Wives, Widows, or Maids to Incontinency, or in any manner attempting their Chastities, Bawds, Panders, &c. the frequenting Ale-houses and Taverns, Drunkenness, accompanying with Excommunicate or scandalous persons, speaking scandalously of Religion,

the Ministers, Governours or Government of the Church; swearing, lascivious discourse, singing lascivious, wanton or scandalous Ballads, Rhimes and Songs, Blasphemal and Atheistical discourses, scandalizing any of the Godly Party, be it right or wrong, scolding, dancing at Wakes, May-poles, or any other Meetings, playing at Cards, Dice, or any other game for money, Cock-fighting, Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, Acting in, or being present at Inter-ludes or Plays, wearing gaudy or wanton Apparel, and what not, that this Assembly shall judge scandalous to Religion, the Professors, Ministers, or Governours or Government of their Church; that a man that's under this Government, had need to carry his Cup even, and please his Minister too, to scape the Stool of Repentance, there being two Paritors in every Parish to accuse you, (for I take the Lay-Elders for no better then Hackneys to the Ministers) and to carry all the blame of their Neighbours, while the Presbyter goes free. But if you think your self wronged by any sentence of the Clasical Assembly, you have your Appeal, as I told you, to the Provincial Assembly, and from thence in some cases to the National Synod. And if you fail there, God help you, I cannot tell what to say to you farther; but perhaps you were as good to have sat down by the first sentence, and come to the Stool of Repentance betimes, as travel further and speed worse; for you may be sure the Ministers will hold together to maintain their Sovereignty and power over the Laicks, wheresoever you find them.

*C. G. What is the meaning of the Stool of Repentance, I beseech you?*

*St.* It is a publick Stool or Seat in the body of the Church, where one that is convicted of any of the Crimes before-mentioned, must come and be placed on the Lords-day, in the face of the whole Congregation, where he must suffer the Minister to use all the reproachful, villifying language, that malice or his wit can invent against the

Peni-

Penitent, and be it true or false, the Penitent must not reply. And after the Minister has had his Harangue, which he is not to break off till he has drawn tears from the Penitent, (which he may easily be brought to, if it be for nothing else but because he is under so Tyrannical a Government) then making such a confession of his Crime as he is prescribed, and declaring his sorrow for his offences, so that the Minister be satisfied he's a true Penitent, perhaps he will absolve him; but if he find him obstinate, he shall come again and again till he has humbled him: but if it be one that pays his Tithes and Church duties well, and now and then presents, or does a kindness for the Minister, (which are the Offerings he'll look for) he may speed the better; for I must tell you, these Fellows understand their own Interests as well as the Pope himself.

C. G. *If this be the Presbyterian Government, I wonder that any ingenious person should desire it. But the Ministers indeed, it sets them Cock-on-hoop to Lord it over Kings and Peasants, and seems to me more Tyrannical then Popery itself: for the Papists make their Confessions in private to their Priest, who is bound to secrecy, and he enjoyns the Penitent a private Penance that no body takes notice of; no generous soul will ever endure this reproachful way of Penance. Has this Government been received by any Prince or State, or how came it into the World?*

St. It is very evident, that for 1540 years after Christs Birth, there was no other Government in the Church but Episcopal. I shall not take upon me to determine whether that Government be *Jure Divino*, though much has been said, and may be said for it; but this I dare presume to say, that it was of Apostolical Institution and practice:

And

These men hold, that God from all Eternity has Predestinated all those which shall be saved; and into the Elect has infused irresistible Grace, so that they cannot torally or finally fall away: and that all the rest are reprobated to all Eternity, and cannot be saved. Which being granted, to what purpose is all this stir, but a resisting of Gods determinate Will, or exercising a Tyrannical Dominion over their Fellows.

And this Government having grown so long, and being interwoven with the Civil Government in most places, as it is in *England*, it is no wonder that in so long time it may have got some superfluous branches, which might better have been pruned off, then it totally extirpated; and it were hard to invent any other Government, that would not be subject to as great inconveniences in time; and we see it is an easier matter to repair an old House, then to build a new. And that Government was pretty well purged amongst us, upon the Reformation; and as it is now practised in this Kingdom, I dare presume to say it is the mildest Church-Government in the Christian World, having a check from the Civil power to prohibit where they exceed their just bounds. But since you ask me, how this new Government came into the World? I'll tell you: After the corruptions of the Court of *Rome* had made that Government grievous to the most Countries and Nations where it was practised, divers Princes and States abolished that Government, with many of the corrupt Doctrines of that Church; amongst which *Geneva*, (a City in the confines of *Savoy*) which had been governed by several Princes, having lately moulded it self into a Commonwealth, likewise received the Reformation; and that City having formerly had a Bishop for the Government of the Church, he was either frightened away, or voluntarily deserted his Charge, so that they were left without any Government at all. And Mr. *Calvin's* name being grown famous amongst those of the Reformation, the Senate of *Geneva* made means to invite him thither; who at his coming thither, finding all things in disorder, he attempted to have settled some Government and Order in the Church; which gave such distast, that they soon banished him the City. But the Reputation of Mr. *Calvin* still increasing, it was not long ere they repented their rashness in parting with him, and used all means possible to regain him; which with much ado at last



last they obtained. But when he returned, he would not be persuaded to stay with them, unless they would all take an Oath to observe such a Government in the Church as he should propose, warrantable by the Word of God. This they were forc'd to consent to, and the rather because he offered that two Lay-men should be joyned to every Clergy-man in the Government, which made them to swallow the Pill more pleasingly: but they soon saw their errour, for the Clergy-men being perpetually united, and men of Learning and Parts, made the Lay-Elders (which were but years-birds, disunited, and but of ordinary Education) to signifie no more then so many Cyphers to fill up the number, and to make them subject to the displeasure of their Neighbours; being rather made use of as Parators to accuse their Neighbours, then as Judges; and being but annual, they durst not displease the Clergy, who the next year might sit upon their Skirts, if they were not the more cautious. This Government was no sooner settled, but the new Consistory began to contest with the Senate; hereupon the Senate made an Edict, that the Consistory should not have power to Excommunicate, without the approbation of the Senate; and that the Senate should have power to absolve. But Mr. Calvin had got the Bridle into their mouths, and was not so easily kickt out of the Saddle: whereupon they had thoughts once more to have banish'd him; but then they foresaw they should be condemned of Unsteadiness and Levity, and that he would reproach them with Perjury. To avoid which, they were forc'd to submit to Arbitrators of Calvin's own chusing, Birds of the same Feather, which you may be sure gave their Verdict in such terms as Calvin prescribed, to which they were forc'd to submit; and some of the Cantons of Switzerland, by their Ministers, with the assistance of Mr. Calvin, were drawn into the same Net. But I do not find that this Government was ever legally settled in any other Kingdom or State, save the

the Prince Palatine of the *Rhine*, receiving the Reformation from *Calvin*, received likewise the Discipline; but with this Qualification, that the Prince should always appoint the Chair man or Moderator in all the Assemblies, who should have a Negative voice.

C. G. *Was not that Government legally settled in Scotland, or how came it to get such footing there?*

S. I do not find that that Government was ever legally settled in *Scotland*; but there was one *Knox*, a *Scotchman*, that was a man of Learning and Parts, and that had for some time been a Disciple of Mr. *Calvin*; he returning into *Scotland*, soon put the Clergy in love with the *Calvinian* Discipline, which was likely to turn so much to their power and profit; and they amongst themselves, taking advantage of the tumultuous Reign of Queen *Mary*, and after of the Infancy of King *James*) being countenanced with some powerful men that thirsted after the Bishops Lands, set up that Government there: But King *James* no sooner came to understand his own Interest, but he routed them, and re-establish'd the Bishops. And in his Book to his Son Prince *Henry*, after many cautions that he gave him against that Party, concludes that the *Presbyterian* Ministers are the Pests of the Church and Commonwealth, whom no deserts can bind, Oaths or Promises oblige, breathing nothing but Sedition and Calumny; aspiring without measure, railing without reason, making their own Imaginations the Rule of their Consciences; protesting before the Almighty God, that he never found in any *Highlander* greater Ingratitude, more Lies and vile Perjuries, then among these Fanatick Spirits. The great truth of which character of that wise Prince, if you had been living in the late War, you might have seen verified to the life. Nor did our late blessed King and Martyr imprudently offer to settle *Presbytery* for three years, being well satisfied that in that time it would make the whole Nation weary  
of

of it: But the design was not for Presbytery, but for the Sovereignty.

C. G. *I perceive this Government is of great advantage to the Clergy, that it is a great mercy that all our Clergymen be not for it, that have not hopes to be Bishops of Diocesses, for this makes them no less then Bishops in their own Parishes, and more then Archbishops in their Classcal Assemblies: but how came they to draw the People into this subjection?*

St. You must know that these men, as all other founders of Sects and Governments, are men outwardly of severe and sanctified Lives and Conversation, and diligent Preachers; which they perform with such zeal, sighing, whining, howling, turning up the whites of their eyes, and gaping, as though they either expected the Holy Ghost to enter into them, or were so full of him that they gaped to let him out; and the People look upon them as precious men, at least inspired with the Holy Ghost, and believe them as intallible, as the Papists do the Pope. And those that do not receive them and their Doctrines, they will straight brand them with the names of *Papists*, being *Popishly affected*, or *Atheists*; so that either by fear or love they make a Party.

C. G. *I pray you Sir, do these men differ from us in any of their Doctrines, as they do in point of Discipline?*

St. They agree with us, as the Papists do, in the three Creeds, the *Apostles*, *Nicene*, and *Athanasian*, and in all or the most of the Moral Doctrines of our Church. Some little differences there are between us, concerning the Sabbath, Predestination, Free-will, and the dependants of them; but in those that tend to Dominion and Profit, they out-go the Jesuit: For they hold it lawful to excommunicate and depose Kings, for Murder, Adultery, Idolatry, Superstition, &c. wherein they must be Judges; the Jesuits, for Heresie. 2ly. They hold it lawful to Assassinate and Murder any body, that they judge hinders

the advancement of the Gospel; the Jesuits, Hereticks, and such as hinder the advancement of the Catholick Religion, that is, the Popes and Clergies power and profit. 2ly. They teach, that if Kings become Tyrants against God and his Truth, the Subjects are free from their Oaths of Allegiance; the Jesuits, that Princes being excommunicate by the Pope, their Subjects are freed from all Allegiance. 4ly. They hold that neither Promises or Oaths bind, where God's honour, or the preaching of the Gospel are hindered by them; the Jesuits, that *fides hereticis non est tenenda*. 5ly. They hold that the Presbyters, for the advance of God's service, may dispence with Oaths; in this the Jesuits agree, and affirm that the Pope has power to dispence with all Oaths and Vows. 6ly. They have their Legend of Miracles, especially about the Sabbath; the Jesuits have their Legend of forged Miracles. 7ly. They hold it lawful to defame Princes, and all others that stand in their way; so do the Jesuits. 8ly. They take upon them to have a particular power to dispossess people of the Devil; which the Jesuits do. 9ly. They have their Confession and Penance, as the Jesuits have; only in this they differ, the one has it in private, the other in publick on the Stool of Repentance. They learn'd the distinction between the King in his Natural capacity, and his Politick, from the Jesuits; and taught the people to fight against Charles Stuart, to preserve the King's person: all these I can make evident out of their own Writings and practice.

C. G. I shall not give you that trouble: but do all the Presbyterians agree in these Doctrines?

St. No, God forbid; for I must tell you, there are three sorts of Presbyterians: 1. A rigid sort of Anarchical, Jesuitical Presbyterians, and those are the true Presbyterians and asserters of these Doctrines: And as the moderate and better sort of Papists, do not agree with the Jesuits in these Doctrines; so, 2ly. there is a sort of honest, sober,

Reb.



Religious men, that think themselves, and are thought to be *Presbyterians*, and are not so; but are besotted and bewitch'd with the seeming holiness of these men, and are drawn to hear them, and relieve them, but are not for the Government, nor hold any of these pernicious Doctrines; but were engaged in the last War before they were aware, by the fair and specious pretences of preserving the Kings person, the Protestant Religion, &c. but as soon as they saw how they were deceived, they deserted the Party. And indeed I wonder why these men should divide from us in point of Interest, since they are content to communicate with us: some slight things they quarrel at, or rather their Ministers, which if you will peruse the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, or between them and the Bishops at his Majesties Restauration, you shall find them so slight, that you will wonder at their making such a stir about nothing; a Surplice, and some passages in the Common-Prayer not worth speaking of, much less to be the occasion of making a Separation: so that one may properly enough say to them, as *Abraham* upon another like occasion said to *Lot*, *Let there be no strife between us, for we are Brethren*. There is a third sort that go under the notion of *Presbyterians*, that neither are so, nor think themselves so, but abhor their Discipline and Doctrines as much as either I, or you; and these got the name of *Independants*, because at last they discovered themselves to be against all Government in the Church, desiring only to have Liberty of Conscience; but if any Government, a moderate Episcopacy, rather then a *Calvinian* Discipline, that would give them no Quarter.

C. G. Sir, I humbly beg your pardon for this digression, and I heartily thank you for giving me this satisfaction concerning *Presbyterians* and their Discipline; and if you please we will return to the King's being deliver'd up to the pretended Parliament, where we left; and I desire to know, in what manner they dealt with him?

St. You must know, that about that time *Oliver Cromwell* (one who you have heard of by the name of *Protector*) was Lieutenant-General of the Parliaments Army, a man of great Courage, Conduct and Success; a person competently endowed both with Natural and Acquired parts, that fitted him for the greatest Undertakings, and one that could dissemble to the life. This man having by his diligence got a great interest in the Army, the Lord *Fairfax* his General being a man of mean parts, and little regarded; *Cromwell* began to lay the foundation of those steps, by which by degrees he arrived at the highest pitch of Sovereignty. In order to which, he first seized upon the King's person, and then wheedled him into the *Isle of Wight*, and then discovering (by the Vote that re-called the Vote of Non-addresses) that the honest, sober, loyal *Presbyterians* (for so I must call them henceforwards) were not *Commonwealths-men*, nor had any design against the King's person, but to clip the wings of his Prerogative, and leave him some shadow of Sovereign power, he soon purged the House of them: for the King stood in his way, and till he were cut off, there was no way open for him to his Throne. Then having made the Rump of the House of Commons (being all pure *Commonwealths men*) Lords over all, it was no great difficulty for him to persuade his *Independant Army*, that they could not be safe if they ever suffered the King to be restored, who would as long as he lived endeavour revenge; and therefore for self-preservation, they were soon prevailed on to cry out for Justice against the grand Delinquent: which the *Commonwealths-men* in the House, (that were now become indeed but Journey-men to *Cromwell's* designs) and the Army (formerly their Servants) willingly embraced, as being a thing in order to their design; and by a Mock-Court of Justice they brought that good King, as has been said, to the Block, to make way for *Oliver*. But *Oliver* had more Fish to fry, before he could with safety discover his

his design; the *Scotch* and *Irish* must first be reduced: And to find his Journey-men work in the interim, he gave them way to establish a Commonwealth-Government, which he well knew would be so ungrateful to the *English* Nation, that had always been governed by Kings, that it would make his way to the Sovereignty more easie. And while he was bringing the *Scotch* and *Irish* to duty, they formed a Commonwealth; and to make it more suitable to the Laws, they placed the Sovereignty in the *Keepers of the Liberties of England*, meaning themselves, having abolished the House of Lords as useless and unnecessary, and indeed troublefom to them.

C. G. Did not they then settle the Presbyterian Government in the Church, according to their ingagement to the Scots, and as most suitable to their new Government?

St. They did at first make an Ordinance of Parliament for the establishing of it, and a Directory was framed instead of the Common-Prayer; and in some Parishes in London, and in some places in the Country, it was settled by some of their busie Clergy. And though they used it as moderately as that Discipline would admit, yet they found it so ungrateful to the people in all places, that they let it die of it self: and *Oliver Cromwell*, though he did not openly oppose it, yet you may be sure he had no kindness for it, it being so ungrateful to his *Independant Army*.

C. G. But how did the Scotch Presbyterians take the proceedings here?

St. Why to give them their due, the moderate Scotch Presbyterians were not pleased with their proceeding with the King, and therefore they raised two several Armies, the one to have rescued the Father, and the other to have restored the Son. But it was not God's good pleasure to restore him by the people of that Nation, that had so basely betrayed the Father. The one of their Armies was finally worsted at *Uxeter* in *Staffordshire*, and the latter at *Worcester*.

C. G.

*C. C. What course did Oliver Cromwell take to attain his ends?*

*St.* Why as soon as he had reduced and settled Scotland and Ireland, and modelled his Army to his mind, the first thing he did was to turn the *Commonwealths-men* out of doors; being well assured that those men that without regard of Oaths of Allegiance, Protestations and Covenants, were Traytors to their own natural, lawful Prince, to whom they owed Allegiance by the Law of God, Man, Nature, and their voluntary Obligations, would never be true to him, that could make no other Title to the Sovereignty then by Usurpation. And he and his *Mymidons* called a new Parliament, of Members of their own choosing, which was called *Praise-God-Barebones Parliament*, from a silly Glover or Leather-seller in *Elephant Street*, that was a busie Member of it: but this Parliament either did not understand *Oliver's* meaning, or else they would not do his work, and left no Monument of their being, other then an Act, *That all Marriages should be made by Justices of the Peace*; and an exception in it, *That those that had no hands, should not need to close hands*; nor those that had no tongues, to speak in the Complement of it: and so surrendered up their places to *Oliver* that gave them; who immediately took upon him the Government, by the name of *Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*: which Title and Authority (by a pack'd Parliament in 1656.) being confirmed, he revived the House of Lords, by the title of *The Other House*, and called many of his Officers, Counsellors, and sure Friends to it by Writ, with some of the old Lords that comply'd with him. He left the Sovereignty to his Son *Richard*, who soon lost it by the Treachery of *Lambert*, that aspired to it himself; and it became a *Commonwealth* again, a while governed by a *Council of State*. But the people of the Nation being come



come to their Wits, and being sensible of their folly, or  
finding that the Government would not be maintained  
but by a great Army, as long as any of the Royal Line  
had being, and that would contract a perpetual Charge  
upon the Nation, they were satisfied that they could not  
be happy till their true and lawful King was restored;  
which after many attempts, was happily performed by  
that thrice-worthy Patriot of his Country *George Monck*,  
after deservedly made Duke of *Albemarle*. Never was  
King received by his Subjects with more Acclamations of  
Joy; never King governed with more gentleness, more  
Justice and moderation, being so far from revenging the  
injuries he had received, that he preferred many of those  
that had been in Arms against him, to places of greatest  
Trust, all which you have been witness of.

C. G. I humbly thank you, you have given me a handsome  
brief account of the design, progress and success of the last  
War; it only rests that you will please to let me hear your opi-  
nion of the present Times, for you see there is the same practice  
of scandalous Libels and Pamphlets, to make a mis-under-  
standing between the King and his People, and to make them  
out of love with the present Government; and Petitioning  
to try the strength of their Party, as there was in 1641. and  
the Presbyterians are grown numerous, so that most people  
fear a second War.

St. I must confess the present Times look very like  
those of 41. but as I told you at first, they differ in the  
most essential circumstances conducing to the late War:  
And it is true, that a Party that goes under the notion of  
Presbyterians, are very numerous, as you say; but I dare  
affirm there is no present danger of a new War, for divers  
Reasons: First, the Subjects of *England* are now sensible  
of the discommodities of a War, they cannot chuse but  
remember how their Persons were imprisoned, their  
Goods plundered, their Trades spoiled, their Houses made  
common to the Souldiers by Free-quarter; and yet, as  
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the Children of *Israel* were forc'd to make Brick without Straw, so were they forc'd to great payments out of the Quick-stock, as the vulgar saying is, *making little of their Estates*. Secondly, they have no pretences to stir up the People to War, as to Religion; we have a Prince so sincere in his Religion, and free from Popery, that the Jesuits have no hopes of their design, but by taking him from us; and can any body believe we are so mad as to thrust him from us, or to force him to the protection of us and our Enemies? A Prince so just in all his Actions, that he may with good *Samuel* ask, whose Ox have I taken? whose A's have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? or whom have I oppressed? Has he ever taken or exacted any thing from us, but what has been given him by Parliament? Has he unjustly sought the blood of any Nobleman or Commoner, though no Prince has had greater provocations? Has not he granted us the Court of Wards, and the Purveyance, two ancient and undoubted Rights of his Crown, that never any King before him would part with? Has not he restored to us, in his happy and miraculous Restauration, (wherein a man that was blind must needs see the hand of God wonderfully) our Laws, Liberties, Religion, and all that is dear to us, and can you believe that men will kick against God's blessings and providences, to return to the Flesh-pots of *Egypt*, and *Egyptian* bondage? Is not the Government of the Church as gentle as any body can desire? Suppose a Book of Common-Prayer, or a Surplice should displease some, can you believe that any body will adventure life and fortune in a hazardous War to remove them? Indeed it often happens, that when God Almighty designs the ruine of a Nation, he infatuates the people to do those things that tend to their ruines, (God look upon us in mercy.) Next, the Citizens of *London* are not so Purse-proud as they were the last War, and certainly cannot forget how they lost their Trades by the War, so that many were forc'd

forc'd to lay the Key under the door, and trail a Pike for their livings; and many Priviledges were lost with Foreign Princes, besides the continual dangers and alarms of Fire and Plunder. Fourthly, in the last War they had some countenance of a Parliamentary Authority to justify their Rebellion, which perswaded the common people that what they did was lawful: Now it must be a flat down-right Rebellion, and by consequence High Treason, to forfeit Lives, Lands and Goods, which will make men of Estates and Fortunes afraid to engage. Fifthly, if men should forsake their Reason, their Loyalties, their Religion, and their own Interest, to engage in a Rebellion, where is their Magazines of Arms to Arm their Soldiers, the Ammunition, their Forts to secure them whilst they form their Armies, and draw into a Body? without all which, all men that understand any thing of War, know that the King's ordinary Guards will soon suppress and nip them in the bud. Sixthly, a War cannot be made without a great stock of Money, which is always accounted the sinews of War; and you may see by the expence of the last War, what vast sums it requires. And if any body should be so mad as to design a War, where is their Parliamentary Authority to pawn the publick Faith, or make Levies upon the People? or had they any such Authority, can any rational man believe that any body will trust the publick Faith again, when it has once turned Bankrupt already? or where will they find Chapmen for publick Lands? they must live altogether of plunder: what the effects of that will prove, may easily be guessed. The last thing is, where they will have Commanders and Soldiers? I will not deny but there may be a party of *Commonwealths-men* left, or of new sprung up, (though most of the old ones are dead, or having long languished in prison, are become old and unfit for service, and other had their just deserts at the Gallows) and I easily believe these men have the same design on foot again, I

mean that they used to call the *Good Old Cause*, and that a considerable Party of them may again get into the House of Commons; but certainly they want brains to manage it, or else they would not tread the same path their predecessors did: the King sees them, he'll take care of giving them the same advantages his Father unadvisedly did, but according to his Sacred Father's advice, in his most excellent Book, though he have *forgiven them*, yet will never *trust them*. The City of London, at least the wiser sort of them, cannot chuse but understand them, and remember the pulling down of their Chains and Gates of defence; the Gentry and men of Estates will not easily be catch'd in the same Trap again; and these men may remember, that when *Lambert* aspired to the Sovereignty, endeavouring to mount by the same Stair-case *Oliver* had done, how soon he was detected and defeated. Now for that numerous Party that go under the general notion of *Presbyterians*, I dare presume to say there is not one of twenty of them, nay I believe I might say one of forty of them, that either understands what *Presbytery* means, or would be contented with it if it were settled; for if you dissect that Party, you will find it is composed of a great many several Interests: For first, the *Independant* Party at present go under that notion, because they joyn with the rest in the Election of Parliament-men, hoping to have such men chosen that will Repeal the Laws against their Conventicles and Meetings: wherein these well-meaning men, that desire nothing but Liberty of Conscience, are much deceived; for it is the Interest of the *Commonwealths-men*, underhand to disgust and discontent the people all they can, and lay it on the King and Council; but outwardly, like *Abolon*, promise them Mountains: but these men have not so much kindness for *Presbytery*, as either to engage in a War to set it up, or exact a Toleration from his Majesty, which they know his Majesty is free to grant to all his peaceable Subjects,



jects, and attempted to do it by his own power, when his Parliament would not admit it; which they had certainly enjoyed, had not the *Commonwealths-men* and Rigid *Presbyterians* in the House of Commons, made it their business to oppose: the reason is apparent, for by that means they should visibly lose a considerable Party they made sure to engage by oppressing them. But these poor people being well assured, that his Sacred Majesty will pass any Law for their Indulgence shall be offered to him, there is no fear that they will ever be wheedled in by the *Commonwealths-men* or Rigid *Presbyterians*, or any other Party, to forfeit their Loyalties, or that kindness his Majesty has for them. Nay these men have so good experience of the *Calvinian Discipline*, (many of them having been in *Scotland*) that they will rather engage to maintain a moderate Episcopacy, such as they now enjoy, against *Presbyterians* and *Presbytery*. Next, you may be sure that the honest, sober, truly Religious men, that think themselves, or are thought to be *Presbyterians*, (for no other cause, but because they are more severe in their lives and conversations than the *Vulgar*) will have more care for the future, than upon any pretence whatsoever, suffer themselves to be wheedled into a second Rebellion, to the scandal of the Protestant Religion, and their own Profession; since it is fresh in their memories, how they were trepann'd into the former: and will remember, how many of them suffered after for attempting to redeem the King, and their own Error. Besides, these have by his Majesty been equally preferred with, if not before the King's own Party, that abode the heat of the day; and if they should enter into new Conspiracies and Designs, they would appear not only the most ungrateful, perfidious, perjured persons living, but incapable of all future benefits. Next, you have many Noblemen and Gentlemen, that are men of great Parts and Estates, under the notion of *Presbyterians*, and court that Party

upon several designs: First, such as have received disgusts from the Court, either by being put out of those Preferments they deserved not, or not having such as they and no body else thought them worthy of, comply and wheedle with this Party, to make themselves appear formidable by their popularity; a crime of the highest nature, in well-governed Commonwealths. Next, you have a sort of Men, and those men of Estates too, that have an ambition to gain Preferments by being Parliament-men; and not being able to obtain it on the score of Merit, curry with this Party in hopes to be chosen in some Corporations where the Party is prevalent; and thereby opposing the King's Interest, force a Preferment, which has been the bane of the King's business. And there are many Lawyers and Physicians, who wanting Merit to get Practice any other way, and Trades-men, court this Party to get Clients, Patients and Customers. Some adhere to this Party, to vindicate themselves from being thought Papists, or Popishly affected; others out of Cowardize and Policy, like the woman that offered her Candle to the Devil, and being ask'd the reason, said, God was a good man, and would do her no hurt, and she did it to please the Devil, that he might do her none: So a sort of men knowing the King's goodness and clemency, make fair weather with these men, which they fear might do them hurt: and it is like his Majesty is not so wanting to himself, as not to send some sure Friends amongst them, to discover their Counsels and Designs. And you may observe, that these men that I have last mentioned, are the men of Estates and Quality amongst them that give great encouragement and countenance to the Party; and you must know, that all these act high and violently to get reputation with the Party. But can any body believe that Noblemen and Gentlemen of Estates, will venture their Lives and Fortunes, and their Souls too, in a down-right Rebellion, that has no colour of excuse, for they know

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not what, when they can hope for no better a success  
then to be levelled by the Commons? Nay suppose they  
were all *Commonwealths-men*, and suppose they had all the  
advantages their Predecessors had at the beginning of the  
last War; and for discourse sake, admit they should be  
successful in Arms, which God forbid, and settle a *Com-  
monwealth*, (in all which it is Cock-pit lay, forty to one  
against them, if not more) yet all wise men must needs  
know, if experience did not tell them, that as this must  
be got by a doubtful War, so it must be maintained by  
an Army, as long as any of the Royal Line have being;  
and that Army must be maintained by great Assessments  
upon the people, which would be a much greater grie-  
vance then any the people have now to complain of.  
And if such an Army did not turn their Masters out of  
doors, as the last did, yet the payments and governing  
by an Army, would bring the people again into their  
wits, (whom I must judge to be stark mad, if they en-  
gage willingly in a new War) and when they come to  
their wits again, they will (as they did before) use all  
their endeavours to free themselves from that slavery  
their foolery had brought them unto; and then what can  
your *Commonwealths-men* expect? can they hope to find  
the like mercy again, as they did from his Majesty last  
time? and men of Estates and Quality know, it is they  
that upon such an account must pay the reckoning. I need  
not go far to manifest this truth, that men of Quality and  
Estates, that have common sence and reason, will never be  
preach'd into a new Rebellion: this was made manifest  
by the late Tumult in *Scotland*, where you see the *Com-  
mon* people were fooled into a Rebellion by their *Faci-  
ous* Ministers; and what signified it? it was no more then  
a *Factions* Tumult, and if they had not been banded in  
Duty, must in a short time have mouldred away of them-  
selves, not one Nobleman, or person of Estate or Quality  
appearing in it. And what could a company of people do  
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rant Priest-ridden people do, without Money, without Forts, and without men of Quality, Estates and brains to back and encourage them? I confess the *Commonwealths* with their Libels and scandalous Pamphlets, have done what they can to make a mis-understanding between the King and his people, and to distract the Nation, as men must do that Fish in troubled waters, and by this means the people lie under Jealousies, Fears and Discontents; but ask them what they would have, they'll tell you they would have a Parliament: If they have not a Parliament, is it not their own faults, in chusing such men as his Majesty may have reason to suspect will not comply better with him in a new Parliament, then they did in a former? But if the people have such a mind to a Parliament, why do they not chuse fresh Members? there's no doubt but his Majesty would let such sit with all his heart: and it was formerly said to be a great grievance, that the same men should ingross and monopolize the Interest of the Nation. And I wonder to see the common people so stupid, as to chuse men that had any hand in promoting the last War, or such as appear of no better principles: And Corporations that were wont to send their Records, and some of their own Members, (men without design) to preserve the Rights of their Corporations, now suffer themselves to be fuddled out of their Interest, to the prejudice of themselves and the Commonwealth. But ask these busie men, what they would have a Parliament for? they'll tell you, to redress their grievances: ask them, what they be? they cannot tell you, but they would have the Government settled, when it is already as well settled as Act of Parliament, or Law can settle it; and his Majesty has most graciously offered over and over again, to joyn any Law shall be proposed for the security of our Religion, Liberties and Properties: can any Prince do more? or produce a better effect then we may have with this? This calls to my mind a Story Sir *Walter Raleigh* tells



tells us, That when *Pyrrhus* designed a War against *Rome*, *Cyneas* ( his principal Counsellor. ) ask'd him, what he meant to do when he had conquered *Rome* ? why says he, then we will conquer all *Italy* ; and what then ? then we will conquer *Sicily* ; and how then ? why then we will Sail over into *Africk*, and conquer *Carthage* ; and when we are Masters of all these Provinces, we shall be able to do such and such great matters : and what must we do then, says *Cyneas* ? then, says *Pyrrhus*, we must rest us, and live merrily : says *Cyneas*, why cannot we do that as we are, without putting our selves to so great hazard and trouble ? So a man may say to our discontented people, is there any thing they can have by a War, that our gracious King will not grant without ? save his Royal Crown and Sovereignty, to which he has the same right that we have to any thing we can challenge or claim as our own : and why then a War ? that men of broken Fortunes may plunder us, and be our Masters again.

C. G. Sir, I humbly thank you, I have received good satisfaction from you, that we are in no such danger of a new War as is generally feared ; unless his Majesty be wanting to himself, or that we have lost our senses and reason : for the Commons of England did not get so much by the last War, as to be forward to create a new by their own follies. It grows late, Sir, I will detain you no longer, but wish you a good Journey ; and pray that we may not, like the Frogs in the Fable, surfeit of a good and gentle Prince, and cause God in his wrath to subject us to a Tyrant in his room.

Sr. I heartily say Amen to your prayer, and wish all his Majesties Subjects were as well satisfied upon this subject, as I am, and you seem to be. And so I bid you good Night.

F I N I S.